

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BONN 21436 01 OF 03 211713Z
ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07
IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /088 W
----- 082756 /47

R 211700Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4223
INFO SECDEF WASHDC
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USNMR SHAPE
CINC EUR VAIHINGEN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 21436

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR, GW
SUBJECT: MBFR: BUNDESTAG DEBATE

REF: BONN 20746 DTG 091742Z DEC 76

BEGIN SUMMARY: MBFR WAS A THEME TOUCHED UPON BY MOST
MAJOR GERMAN POLITICAL FIGURES DURING THE BUNDESTAG'S
ALL-DAY DEBATE ON THE COALITION'S POLICY DECLARATION ON
DECEMBER 20. OPPOSITION SPEAKERS ATTACKED SPD CHAIRMAN
BRANDT'S SUGGESTION IN A RECENT NEWSPAPER INTERVIEW

CALLING FOR SYMBOLIC US/SOVIET REDUCTIONS AND
LIMITATIONS ON NATIONAL FORCES. COALITION SPEAKERS TRIED
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 21436 01 OF 03 211713Z

TO GLOSS OVER WHAT BRANDT HAD SAID, WITH FONMIN GENSCHER
STATING UNEQUIVOCALLY AT DAY'S END THAT THE FRG POSITION
WAS THE ALLIANCE POSITION. END SUMMARY.

1. OPPOSITION LEADER KOHL BEGAN THE ATTACK ON BRANDT'S
STATEMENTS (REFTEL) BY CALLING FOR THE FRG TO STICK TO

THE NATO POSITION. HE CHARGED THAT BRANDT'S REMARKS APPROACHED THE SOVIET POSITION AND HE WARNED AGAINST THE GERMANS GOING IT ALONE ON THIS MATTER. HE SAID THAT BRANDT WAS SENDING "IRRESPONSIBLE SIGNALS" TO MOSCOW.

2. THE SPD CHAIRMAN, IN RESPONDING TO KOHL, VOICED HIS CONVICTION THAT THE FIRST GOAL IN MBFR MUST BE TO BRING ABOUT -- STEP BY STEP -- A CONDITION WHEREBY A MILITARY ATTACK IN CENTRAL EUROPE FROM A STANDING START BECOMES IMPOSSIBLE. BRANDT REPEATED THAT "MODEST" REDUCTIONS BY U.S. AND SOVIET FORCES IN THE NGA SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY "MODEST" REDUCTIONS BY NATIONAL FORCES.

3. TWO OPPOSITION DEPUTIES, ALOIS MERTES AND RAINER BARZEL (BOTH CDU), ASKED BRANDT HOW HIS VIEWS WERE COMPATIBLE WITH THE NATO POSITION AND WHETHER HIS PROPOSAL WOULD NOT ENDANGER THE SIZE AND STRENGTH OF THE BUNDESWEHR. BRANDT REPLIED EVASIVELY TO THE FIRST QUESTION, REFERRING CRYPTICALLY TO HIS WORK IN FORMULATING THE "SIGNAL OF REYKJAVIK." HE THEN DENIED THAT HIS PROPOSAL WOULD ENDANGER THE BUNDESWEHR.

4. RAINER BARZEL, FORMER CDU/CSU CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE AND NOT NOTED AS AN EXPERT ON SECURITY ISSUES, REFERRED TO THE DANGER THAT AN INTERNATIONAL TREATY GOVERNING THE SIZE AND STRENGTH OF THE BUNDESWEHR WOULD POSE. IF SUCH A TREATY WERE CONCLUDED, BARZEL CONTINUED, THE SOVIETS WOULD HAVE A PLACE AT THE TABLE WITH THE GERMANS ON SECURITY QUESTIONS AND WOULD HAVE A VETO RIGHT. THIS WOULD BE THE BEGINNING OF ISOLATION AND POSSIBLY A PRE-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 BONN 21436 01 OF 03 211713Z

STEP TO THE NEUTRALIZATION AND/OR FINLANDIZATION OF THE FRG. BARZEL SAID THE SPD WAS IN FAVOR OF CONCESSIONS ON MBFR WHEREAS THE FDP AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER WERE NOT.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BONN 21436 02 OF 03 211717Z

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07
IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /088 W

----- 082795 /47

R 211700Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4224
INFO SECDEF WASHDC
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USNMR SHAPE
CINC EUR VAIHINGEN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 21436

5. THE CHANCELLOR, TAKING THE FLOOR AFTER BARZEL, RESPONDED THAT THE FRG HAD STRONGLY INFLUENCED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATO POSITION. SCHMIDT THEN ALLOWED A QUESTION FROM CDU/CSU DEFENSE SPOKESMAN MANFRED WOERNER WHO ASKED WHETHER IT WAS NOT SCHMIDT'S DUTY TO CLARIFY THINGS WHEN HIS PARTY CHAIRMAN HAD PUBLICLY PUT THE FRG'S POSITION INTO QUESTION. SCHMIDT DENIED THAT BRANDT HAD ENDANGERED THE NATO POSITION, NOTING THAT THERE WAS "A GREAT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT GOVERNMENTS DO AND THE FREE THOUGHTS OF DEPUTIES."

6. WOERNER THEN POSED A SECOND QUESTION BY ASKING WHETHER THE BRANDT INTERVIEW IN THE "GENERAL ANZEIGER,"
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 21436 02 OF 03 211717Z

FROM WHICH HE QUOTED, WAS COMPATIBLE WITH THE NATO POSITION. SCHMIDT RESPONDED THAT MANY NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN WITH OPENING POSITIONS THAT, IN THE COURSE OF TIME, MOVED TOWARD ONE ANOTHER AND THAT THERE WERE, IN THE MEANTIME, "INTERIM POSITIONS." SCHMIDT CONTINUED THAT HIS GREATEST CONCERN AT THE MOMENT WAS NOT THAT THERE WOULD BE NO PROGRESS IN MBFR -- HE THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE -- BUT RATHER THAT NOT ALL WESTERN ALLIANCE PARTNERS HAD PARTICIPATED IN THE COMMON POSITION.

7. FONMIN GENSCHER, THE LAST SPEAKER OF THE DAY, TOOK

THE FLOOR TO SAY THAT HE HAD NO DOUBT THE MBFR TALKS WERE OF DECISIVE IMPORTANCE FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE AND IN THE WORLD. AFTER REFERRING TO THE RECENT NATO COMMUNIQUE, HE RESTATED THE FRG POSITION: IT WAS THE FRG GOAL TO REACH PARITY IN PERSONNEL AND TO REDUCE THE DISPARITY IN TANKS. HE SAID THERE WAS NO DOUBT WHATSOEVER WITHIN THE COALITION THAT THIS MUST BE DONE "COLLECTIVELY" BECAUSE THE FRG DID NOT WANT A SPECIAL TREATY OVER IT OR THE BUNDESWEHR. GENSCHER SAID THAT BRANDT HAD NOT ASKED FOR THAT. HE CONTINUED THAT IT WAS JUST AS IMPORTANT THAT THERE BE NO SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS ON EUROPEAN ARMAMENTS, CONCLUDING WITH THE THOUGHT THAT THE GERMANS MUST KEEP THE WAY FREE FOR THE CONVERGENCE OF DEFENSE POLICIES AMONG THE EUROPEAN PARTNERS WITHIN NATO.

8. A DPA ITEM CARRIED IN "DIE WELT" ON DEC. 21 INDICATED THAT BRANDT HAD DEFENDED HIMSELF IN BONN YESTERDAY. BRANDT ALLEGEDLY BRANDED THE CDU/CSU CRITICISM AS "MISLEADING AND SHEER NONSENSE." HE SAID IT WAS LOGICAL TO HAVE REDUCTIONS OF NATIONAL FORCES EVEN IF NATO HAD ONLY AGREED ON A FIRST REDUCTION PHASE OF U.S. AND SOVIET FORCES.

9. THE "HANNOVERSCHE ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG" (CENTER, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 BONN 21436 02 OF 03 211717Z

INDEPENDENT) CARRIED A SIMILAR ARTICLE IN ITS DEC. 21 EDITION AND ADDED THAT BRANDT PLANNED TO RETURN TO THE MBFR THEME IN JANUARY IN SPITE OF HIS POSSIBLY MIS-UNDERSTOOD FORMULATION. THE PAPER REPORTED THAT BRANDT WAS IN NO CASE OPPOSED TO THE NATO OR FRG CONCEPTIONS.

10. COMMENT: FOLLOWING THE DISPUTED FRG SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAM, MBFR WAS THE ISSUE WHICH AROSE WITH THE GREATEST FREQUENCY DURING THE BUNDESTAG DEBATE. HOWEVER, GERMAN PRESS COVERAGE ON THIS ASPECT OF THE DEBATE WAS VERY LIMITED AND THE PUBLIC WAS NOT REALLY INFORMED. BESIDES THE SHORT ARTICLES MENTIONED IN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BONN 21436 03 OF 03 211716Z
ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07
IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /088 W
----- 082791 /47

R 211700Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4225
INFO SECDEF WASHDC
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USNMR SHAPE
CINC EUR VAIHINGEN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 21436

PARAS 8 AND 9 ABOVE, WE HAVE NOTED ONLY ONE ANALYTICAL
PIECE, AN ARTICLE IN THE CONSERVATIVE "DIE WELT" WHICH
CHARGED THAT THE SPD WANTED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO THE
SOVIETS AND THAT SOME IN THE PARTY HAD CONFUSED DETENTE
WITH SECURITY.

WE EXPECT THE OPPOSITION TO RETURN TO THE ATTACK ON
THE SPD/BRANDT MBFR LINE WHEN THE DEBATE RESUMES ON JAN.
20. GOVERNMENT PARRYING OF OPPOSITION THRUSTS WAS
NOT PARTICULARLY SUCCESSFUL, AND THE OPPOSITION CAN BE
EXPECTED TO CONTINUE BORING IN TO DEMONSTRATE THE
INCOMPATIBILITY OF BRANDT'S PROPOSALS WITH THE
ALLIANCE POSITION. EVEN SCHMIDT WAS FORCED TO DISAVOW
BRANDT TO SOME EXTENT WITH HIS COMMENT ABOUT THE DIFFER-
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 21436 03 OF 03 211716Z

ENCE BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS AND DEPUTIES.

OPPOSITION COMMENTS ILLUSTRATED ONCE AGAIN GERMAN
SENSITIVITY TO THE FRG BECOMING A "SPECIAL DISARMAMENT
ZONE" IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND TO A SOVIET DROIT DEREGARD
OVER THE BUNDESWEHR OR A FUTURE EUROPEAN DEFENSE
COMMUNITY. THIS POSITION IS ALSO SHARED BY THE GOVERN-
MENT. WHILE GENSCHER STRONGLY REAFFIRMED THAT THE

GERMAN AND NATO MBFR POSITIONS WERE IDENTICAL, THE
OPPOSITION WILL TRY TO EXPLOIT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SPD
VIEWS AND THOSE OF THE GOVERNMENT, WARNING THAT ANY
"GO IT ALONE" POLICY WOULD ENDANGER BOTH GERMAN
SECURITY AND WESTERN UNITY.
STOESSEL

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DEBATES, COALITION GOVERNMENT, ALLIANCE, MILITARY BUILDUP, SECURITY, CENTRAL LEGISLATURE, OPPOSITION PARTIES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976BONN21436
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760468-0822
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761222/aaaaasmf.tel
Line Count: 283
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 BONN 20746
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <18 MAR 2004 by morefirh>; APPROVED <24 MAR 2004 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: BUNDESTAG DEBATE
TAGS: PARM, GE, NATO, MBFR, (BRANDT, WILLY), (KOHL, HELMUT)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006